

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 04810 01 OF 02 081656Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05
IGA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 VO-03
/074 W

-----106857 081707Z /43

O R 081616Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9091
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 4810

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDIP PL
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS OF DEAN OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS
ON POLISH NATIONAL DAY: ACTION RECOMMENDATION

REF: WARSAW 4777

1. THE REMARKS WHICH PILOTOVICH INTENDS TO MAKE JULY 21 ARE
THE UNADORNED SOVIET LINE, ALTHOUGH PRESUMABLY SOME EFFORT
HAS BEEN MADE TO AVOID PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS. NEVERTHELESS,
THEY DO NOT CONSTITUTE THE KIND OF LOWEST-COMMON-DENOMINATOR
SPEECH HE MIGHT
FITTINGLY MAKE AS DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON AN OCCASION
WHEN HE IS PRESUMED TO BE SPEAKING FOR THEM, HIS COLLEAGUES,
AS WELL AS FOR HIMSELF.

2. SO FAR AS THE U.S. IS CONCERNED, THE REMARKS CONTAIN
UNACCEPTABLE SOVIET FORMULAS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS, SUCH AS THE CONTENTION THAT "THERE IS NO MORE IM-
PORTANT TASK THAN THE TRANSFORMATION OF DETENTE INTO AN
IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS" (BUT THE MEANING AND CONTENT OF
"DETENTE" REMAIN UNDEFINED) AND THE PRAISE FOR POLAND'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 04810 01 OF 02 081656Z

EFFORTS "TO ENSURE THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING MAY YIELD
POSITIVE RESULTS AND PROCEED IN A CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE"
(I.E., WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIVE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE PROVISION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT). ALSO OB-
JECTIONABLE IS THE PARTY COLORATION, SUCH AS THE USE OF
THE TITLE "COMRADE" AND THE ASCRIPTION TO THE PARTY,
AS WELL AS TO THE GOVERNMENT, OF ALLEGEDLY IMPRESSIVE

PLANS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN POLAND. WE IN THIS EMBASSY DO NOT AGREE THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE "(CREATED) EXCELLENT CONDITIONS FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF OUR MISSION. (THEY HAVE NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, FULFILLED THE COMMITMENTS THEY UNDERTOOK UNDER THE PL-480 AGREEMENTS TO FACILITATE THE ACQUISITION OF PROPERTIES AND PREMISES FOR DIPLOMATIC HOUSING. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY,, THE REGIME TAKES A REPRESSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS MANY RELATIVES OF U.S. CITIZENS OR PERMANENT RESIDENTS WHO APPLY FOR EMIGRATION PASSPORTS.

3. IF PILOTOVICH GETS AWAY WITH THIS SPEECH, HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO BECOME EVEN BOLDER AS HIS DEANSHIP PROGRESSES. (HE ALSO SPEAKS IN THE NAME OF THE CORPS AT THE NEW YEAR'S RECEPTION TRADITIONALLY GIVEN FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.) I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE IF THIS CLEAR PERVERSION OF THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS WERE PERMITTED TO PASS UNCHALLENGED.

4. THE EMBASSY'S COUNTRY TEAM HAS GIVEN EXTENDED CONSIDERATION TO THE COURSE OF ACTION WE SHOULD FOLLOW.

5. WE HAVE ELIMINATED AS ALMOST SURELY INEFFECTIVE THE POSSIBILITY OF A QUIET APPROACH TO PILOTOVICH BY A SMALL GROUP OF COLLEAGUES WHO OBJECT TO THESE REMARKS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 04810 01 OF 02 081656Z

SINCE HE HAS ALREADY DISTRIBUTED THE TEXT, WE BELIEVE IT IS QUITE OUT OF THE QUESTION TO HOPE THAT HE WOULD CHANGE ANYTHING UNLESS THERE ARE SANCTIONS AND THESE ARE SPELLED OUT. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD, IN ANY CASE, IMPLY READINESS ON THE PART OF THE OBJECTORS TO ENTER INTO A NEGOTIATION ABOUT THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO WIN SUCH A NEGOTIATION, SINCE THE SOVIET APPROACH COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE ONE OF TRADING A CONCESSION HERE FOR THE RETENTION THERE OF A SOVIET FORMULA. DEALING WITH TWO OR MORE WESTERN AMBASSADORS, PILOTOVICH, OR HIS AGENT, WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO PLAY ONE OFF AGAINST THE OTHER OR OTHERS. MOREOVER, I HARDLY TRUST PILOTOVICH TO FULFILL ANY OBLIGATION PRESUMABLY UNDERTAKEN IN SUCH A NEGOTIATION. THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE NEGOTIATION MIGHT BE CONFRONTED WITH A CHOICE BETWEEN WALKING OUT OF THE PREMIER'S RECEPTION OF REMAINING AND TACITLY ACQUIESCING IN A DOUBLE-CROSS. IF WE SHOULD BE APPROACHED WITH THE PROPOSAL THAT WE NEGOTIATE, OUR POSITION SHOULD THEREFORE BE THAT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEAN TO PRESENT US WITH A DRAFT TO WHICH NONE OF US OBJECTS; IT IS NOT OUR RESPONSIBILITY

TO HELP HIM WRITE SUCH A DRAFT.

6. THE NATO AMBASSADORS ARE SCHEDULED TO HOLD THEIR REGULAR MONTHLY MEETING JULY 13. I AM NOT SURE HOW THEY WILL REACT TO THE PILOTOVICH TEXT. I AM EVEN LESS SURE HOW THEIR GOVERNMENTS WILL REACT. I AM AFRAID THERE WILL BE A TENDENCY TO SHRUG IT OFF. IF THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF MOBILIZING OTHER GOVERNMENTS, I THINK WE WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE LEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 04810 02 OF 02 081658Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05
IGA-02 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 VO-03
/074 W

-----106859 081706Z /43

O R 081616Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9092

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 4810

7. I SHOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE AUTHORIZATION TO SEND MY NATO COLLEAGUES ON JULY 11 A PROPOSAL THAT WE RESPOND TO PILOTOVICH'S DRAFT BY SENDING HIM AN IDENTICAL LETTER OF THE FOLLOWING CONTENT.

BEGIN TEXT. A. EXCELLENCY. B. UPON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF MY GOVERNMENT, I MUST INFORM YOU THAT I PROTEST THE CONTENT AND TONE OF THE REMARKS YOU PROPOSE TO MAKE AT THE RECEPTION WHICH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUCL OF MINISTERS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WILL ORGANIZE ON JULY 21. THOSE REMARKS DO NOT REFLECT IMPORTANT POLICIES AND POINTS OF VIEW HELD BY MY GOVERNMENT, BUT APPEAR TO BE A CLEAR AND UNILATERAL EXPRESSION OF THE POLICY OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. THUS, THEY SEEM INAPPROPRIATE AS THE EXPRESSION BY THE DEAN OF THE

DIPLOMATIC CORPS AT WARSAW OF VIEWS WHICH CAN BE SUBSCRIBED

TO BY ALL HIS COLLEAGUES, REPRESENTING, AS THEY DO,
GOVERNMENTS WITH DIFFERING IDEOLOGICAL AND POLICY VIEW-
POINTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 04810 02 OF 02 081658Z

C. MY GOVERNMENT HAS UNDER CONSIDERATION THE ACTION IT
MAY TAKE IF YOU DELIVER THESE REMARKS AT THE JULY 21
RECEPTION, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF PUBLICIZING THIS
PROTEST.

D. I AM TRANSMITTING A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO HIS EX-
CELLENCY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE POLISH
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

E. ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE REPEATED ASSURANCE OF MY
HIGH ESTEEM. END TEXT.

8. I WOULD ALSO SEND A COPY OF THIS PROPOSAL TO MY
FRENCH COLLEAGUE, WHO HAS ASKED MY OPINION OF PILOTOVICH'S
DRAFT, AS WELL AS TO OTHER COLLEAGUES WHO MIGHT BE EX-
PECTED TO BE INTERESTED. I SHOULD ANTICIPATE TAKING
THE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING IT ONLY WITH MY NATO COL-
LEAGUES, LEAVING IT TO OTHER RECIPIENTS TO GET IN TOUCH
WITH ME OR -- OR NOT TAKE -- OTHER ACTION, AS THEY
SEE FIT.

9. I SHOULD URGE MY NATO COLLEAGUES TO CONSULT THEIR
GOVERNMENTS AND BE PREPARED ON JULY 13 TO TAKE POSITIONS
ON THE PROPOSAL. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I WOULD AP-
PRECiate RECEIVING THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS, IF
POSSIBLE, BY THE OPENING OF BUSINESS WARSAW TIME JULY 11.

10. IF DESPITE THE PROTEST, PILOTOVICH PROCEEDS TO DELIVER HIS REMAR-
KS
WITHOUT CHANGE, I BELIEVE THAT VOA SHOULD CARRY FOR THREE DAYS
RUNNING, FOLLOWING JULY 21, THE TEXT OF THE
LETTER OF PROTEST. IF HE MODIFIES HIS REMARKS, WE COULD
MODIFY THE VOA BROADCAST ACCORDINGLY. IT IS, HOWEVER, IM-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 04810 02 OF 02 081658Z

PORTANT THAT THE FACT OF THE PROTEST NOT REMAIN A WELL-
KEPT SECRET AMONG THE PROTESTING GOVERNMENTS, THE POLISH
REGIME, AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. ONLY THROUGH CARE-
FULLY CONSIDERED PUBLICITY CAN PILOTOVICH BE RESTRAINED
IN THE FUTURE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, ONLY THROUGH PUBLICITY

CAN THE POLISH PEOPLE BE MADE AWARE THAT THERE ARE SOME GOVERNMENTS WHICH DO NOT ACCEPT WITHOUT DEMUR THE INSIDIOUS PERVERSIONS OF LANGUAGE AND OTHER HYPOCRISIES REFLECTED IN PILOTOVICH'S REMARKS.

11. UNLESS A BOYCOTT SHOULD BE THE DECISION OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS -- A STEP I SERIOUSLY DOUBT THEY WILL CONSIDER TAKING -- I THINK IT WOULD BE WRONG TO ABSENT MYSELF FROM JAROSZEWICZ'S RECEPTION. SUCH A BOYCOTT WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO RECRIMINATIONS IN THE POLISH PRESS AND AN ATTEMPT TO BRAND THE BOYCOTTERS AS COLD WARRIORS. THE NATURE OF THE OFFENSE IS NOT, I THINK, SUFFICIENTLY GREAT TO WARRANT THIS. IF THE DEPARTMENT APPROVES THE COURSE OF ACTION OUTLINED ABOVE, I FEEL I COULD ATTEND THE RECEPTION WHILE MAINTAINING THE DIGNITY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.
DAVIES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC CORPS DEAN, SPEECHES, INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 08-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977WARSAW04810
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770243-0402
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770775/aaaacnjl.tel
Line Count: 242
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 6f968a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 WARSAW 4777
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1914799
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROPOSED REMARKS OF DEAN OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON POLISH NATIONAL DAY: ACTION RECOMMENDATION
TAGS: PDIP, PL, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6f968a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009